

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-02

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

CU-02 AEC-05 AECE-00 SAJ-01 OMB-01 SAM-01 OES-02

AID-05 EB-04 CIEP-01 TRSE-00 STR-01 CEA-01 ORM-01

SR-02 AGR-05 /102 W

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O R 091150Z NOV 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9114

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 209

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6835

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, PARM, EGEN, SGEN, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - NOVEMBER 4-8

1. SUMMARY. CSCE STAGNATED AGAIN THIS WEEK IN MOST AREAS.  
THE SOVIETS AGAIN SHOWED BAD FAITH, RENEGING ON A PHRASE IN

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THE TEXT ON FAMIY REUNIFICATION JUST WHEN THE NATO GROUP

NOTIFIED THEM THAT THEY WOULD CONCEDE THE LAST CONTENTIOUS POINTS IN ORDER TO GET AGREEMENT ON THIS TEXT. COMING ON TOP OF OTHER RECENT SOVIET STEPS BACKWARD IN BASKET III NEGOTIATIONS, THIS INCIDENT CAUSED BITTERNESS AMONG WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS AND CONTRIBUTED FURTHER TO THE MISTRUST AND SUSPICION WHICH HAS MADE PROGRESS IN BASKET III SO DIFFICULT. AT WEEK'S END SOVIET DELEGATES IN CORRIDOR CONTACTS SUGGESTED THEY WERE LOOKING FOR WAYS OUT OF THE CORNER THEY HAVE BACKED INTO, EITHER BY REVIVING THE IDEA OF A PACKAGE DEAL BY THE NEUTRALS OR BY MAKING A FURTHER EFFORT TO AGREE ON THE FAMILY REUNIFICATION TEXT. WHILE BOTH OF THESE POSSIBILITIES HAVE BEEN BLOCKED BY THE SOVIETS THEMSELVES, IT WILL NOT BE EASY FOR THEM TO REVERSE THEMSELVES QUICKLY ON EITHER POINT, AND IT IS HARD TO SEE ANY OTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR GIVING FRESH IMPETUS TO THE STAGE 2 ALKS. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES HELD 50TH MEETING ON HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE WITHOUT BEING ABLE TO REGISTER IT. TEMPORARY COMPROMISE WAS REACHED ON NATIONAL MINORITIES SENTENCE, BY WHICH OPPOSING CONCEPTS OF YUGOSLAV SPONSORS ON ONE HAND AND FRENCH, BELGIANS, SPANISH AND GREEKS ON THE OTHER WERE PLACED IN BRACKETS. THERE WAS ALSO AGREEMENT TO BRACKET ENTIRE BRITISH SENTENCE ON RIGHT OF INDIVIDUAL TO KNOW AND ACT ON HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES, LEAVING ONLY SWISS SENTENCE ON RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN TIME OF INTER-STATE TENSION STILL UNRESOLVED. OUTLOOK IS NOW BRIGHTER FOR SUBCOMMITTEE TO REGISTER THIS PRINCIPLE EARLY NEXT WEEK, AND TO RESUME WORK ON PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION AGAIN MADE NO APPRECIABLE PROGRESS ON ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE OR SWISS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES PROPOSALS.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- IN THREE FORMAL MEETINGS, THE SUBCOMMITTEE RESUMED DISCUSSION OF OTHER CBMS WITHOUT ACHIEVING ANY NOTABLE PROGRESS. ROMANIAN PROPOSAL TO REFRAIN FROM DEPLOYING NUCLEAR ARMS ON THE TERRITORIES

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OF OTHER STATES IN EUROPE WAS ONCE AGAIN RECEIVED WITH SILENCE EXCEPT FOR A BRIEF EXPRESSION OF OPPOSITION BY THE ITALIAN DELEGATION. ROMANIANS SO FAR HAVE SHOWN NO DISPOSITION TO WITHDRAW THE PROPOSAL. SWEDISH PROPOSAL FOR ANNUAL PUBLICATION OF DEFENSE BUDGETS WAS AGAIN REJECTED FLATLY BY SOVIET DELEGATION. MOST OF THE DISCUSSION CENTERED ON THE PREAMBLE TO CBMS AND ON THE YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL TO REFRAIN FROM MILITARY ACTIVITIES

WHICH BY THEIR NATURE MAY CAUSE MISUNDERSTANDING OR TENSION. YUGOSLAV DELEGATION CONTINUED TO PRESS FOR AN OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH ON SELF-RESTRAINT AND SOVIET BLOC OPPOSED IT AS A GENERAL PROPOSITION. GREEK REP BROKE NATO RANKS BY SUPPORTING YUGOSLAVS. WEEK'S DEBATE PRODUCED NO NEW IDEAS OR PROGRESS.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE CONSIDERED PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH ON RECIPROCITY BUT MADE NO REAL PROGRESS. DEBATE CENTERED MAINLY ON THE EC'S PROPOSAL FOR A REFERENCE TO EQUIVALENCE OF RIGHTS AND ADVANTAGES, WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES AND OTHERS, INCLUDING USDEL, OPPOSING SUCH A FORMULATION. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES THE EC STRONGLY CRITICIZED THE NEW GDR-HUNGARIAN TEXT ON RECIPROCITY AND MFN AND THE SUBCOMMITTEE DECIDED TO DEFER DISCUSSION OF THIS ISSUE UNTIL LATER. IT THEN TURNED TO THE PARAGRAPH OF THE EC PROPOSAL CONCERNING THE MULTILATERAL BASIS OF TRADE, BUT WAS UNABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT. EXCEPT FOR POSSIBLE STYLISTIC CHANGES, DRAFTING WORK WAS COMPLETED ON PORTION OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION DOCUMENT DEALING WITH PROJECTS OF COMMON INTEREST. IN REMAINDER OF INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION DOCUMENT, ONLY THREE PARAGRAPHS ARE STILL TO BE DRAFTED.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE WAS STOPPED DEAD BY ANOTHER APPARENT SOVIET MANIFESTATION OF BAD FAITH. THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN TELLING EVERYBODY, INCLUDING USDEL, THAT THE TEXT ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION COULD BE AGREED IF TWO SOVIET-PROPOSED CHANGES WERE ACCEPTED. THE FRG DEL, THE LAST HOLDOUT, WAS FINALLY ABLE TO GET BONN TO AGREE TO THE CHANGES. WHEN NATO ACCEPTANCE WAS COMMUNICATED TO THE

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SOVIET REP, HE REOPENED ANOTHER ISSUE WHICH THE WESTERN GROUP HAD THOUGHT WAS RESOLVED. THE SOVIET REP INSISTED ON CHANGING THE COMMITMENT TO GIVE "POSITIVE CONSIDERATION" TO APPLICATIONS FOR FAMILY REUNIFICATION TO "FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION," WHICH IS MUCH WEAKER IN GERMAN AND THUS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG. THE WORD "POSITIVE" HAS APPEARED IN THE INFORMAL WORKING TEXT SINCE LAST JUNE. THE NEW STEP BACKWARDS BY THE SOVIETS CAUSED SOME BITTERNESS AMONG WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATIONS AND CONTRIBUTED FURTHER TO THE ATMOSPHERE OF MISTRUST AND SUSPICION WHICH CURRENTLY PREVAILS IN THIS AREA. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED TO DRAFT ON AUDIO-VISUAL INFORMATION, DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT, AND DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICIAL GOVERNMENT INFORMATION BULLETINS. ONCE AGAIN, A TEXT ON DISTRI-

BUTION OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT WAS INFORMALLY WORKED OUT WHICH CONTAINS ALL THE ELEMENTS OF THE TEXT TO WHICH THE SOVIETS AD PREVIOUSLY GIVEN -- AND THEN AITHDRAWN -- THEIR AGREEMENT. THIS TEXT MAY FINALLY BE AGREED NEXT WEEK. COMMITTEES ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION CONTINUED TO MAKE LIMITED PROGRESS, REACHING PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT ON TEXTS COVERING TWO RELATIVELY NONCONTROVERSIAL ITEMS. IN CULTURE FRENCH TABLED COMPROMISE FORMULA FOR INTO-DUCTORY SENTENCE TO CONTROVERSIAL PROPOSAL ON ACCESS TO CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS, AS FIRST STEP IN RENEWED EFFORT TO BREAK LONG IMPASSE ON THIS SUBJECT.

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INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

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SR-02 AGR-05 /102 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9115

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 210

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

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6. COMMENT: THE SOVIET INSISTENCE ON A LAST-MINUTE WORD CHANGE IN THE TEXT ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION WAS THE THIRD EXAMPLE OF BAD FAITH IN THE LAST THREE WEEKS. (OTHERS WERE RENEGING ON AN INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS; AND REFUSAL OF A HUMAN CONTACTS PACKAGE DEAL, AFTER QUIETLY CONFIDENTIAL

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ENCOURAGING NEUTRALS TO PURSUE THIS APPROACH).

7. BECAUSE OF SOVIET SENSITIVITIES, NEGOTIATIONS IN BASKET III PROCEED IN INFORMAL GATHERINGS AND WORK FROM "NONPAPERS" HAVING NO OFFICIAL STATUS. RELIANCE ON INFORMAL AGREEMENT IS THEREFORE FUNDAMENTAL TO THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, SINCE CONCESSIONS ON ONE POINT OFTEN DEPEND ON HAVING A SATISFACTORY FORMULATION ELSEWHERE IN A TEXT. THE SOVIETS HAVE ALWAYS BEEN SLIPPERY IN THEIR APPROACH TO THIS PROCESS, AND THESE RECENT EXAMPLES ARE PARTICULARLY DESTRUCTIVE OF THE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE ON WHICH IT DEPENDS. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL BITTERNESS IS SHARPENED BY THE WIDELY HELD BELIEF THAT THE SOVIET DELEGATION IS NOT USING THE LATITUDE PROVIDED BY THEIR INSTRUCTIONS ON THE THIRD BASKET, AND THAT THE SOVIET BASKET III CHIEF, DUBININ, IS TRYING TO DEMONSTRATE HIS ABILITIES BY BEING MORE RIGID THAN HIS INSTRUCTIONS REQUIRE.

8. SOVIET DELEGATES CONTINUE TO STRESS THEIR DESIRE TO MOVE AHEAD QUICKLY, BUT EVERYONE HERE AGREES THAT THE CSCE NEEDS A NEW IMPETUS IF THIS IS TO HAPPEN, AND THAT THIS IMPETUS CAN ONLY COME FROM SOME SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN BASKET III. THE CURRENT POSSIBILITIES ARE SOMEWHAT LIMITED, BUT A REVIVAL OF THE PACKAGE DEAL IDEA, OR REGISTRATION OF THE FAMILY REUNIFICATION TEXT, COULD HELP. AT WEEK'S END SOVIET DELEGATES IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS SUGGESTED THAT THEY WERE NOT OPPOSED IN PRINCIPLE TO A PACKAGE DEAL "AT THE RIGHT TIME," AND PROFESSED TO BE LOOKING FOR WAYS OUT OF THE IMPASSE THEY HAVE CREATED. WHILE THESE NOISES MIGHT BE THE PRELUDE TO A REVERSAL OF POSITION, IT WAS CLEAR THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SOVIETS TO TURN AROUND QUICKLY. END COMMENT. DALE

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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005